DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 281 173 CS 008 783

AUTHOR Woodward, Arthur
TITLE From Professional Teacher to Activities Manager: The Changing Role of the Teacher in Reading Teachers' Guides, 1920-1985.
PUB DATE Apr 87
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Washington, DC, April 20-24, 1987).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Basal Reading; Content Analysis; Course Content; Elementary Education; Instructional Materials; Professional Occupations; *Reading Instruction; Reading Materials; Reading Research; Teacher Characteristics; Teacher Qualifications; *Teacher Role; *Teaching Guides; Textbook Content; Textbook Research
IDENTIFIERS *Image Analysis

ABSTRACT

A study examined the changing role and status of the elementary school teacher as projected in the teachers' guides that accompany reading textbooks. Twelve fifth-grade teachers' guides for each decade since 1920 were analyzed by scrutinizing every sixth chapter, story, or lesson for (1) physical characteristics, (2) testing components, (3) number of stories and poems, (4) instructional suggestions, (5) professional discussion on reading research and instruction, (6) professional and student bibliographies, (7) story summaries, (8) questions and answers, (9) lesson plans, (10) exercises, and (11) scope and sequence. Results showed that in most cases reading basals underwent major design changes every two or three decades, and that the typical lesson also changed greatly between 1920 and 1980. Lessons from early teachers' guides allowed teacher independence and discretion; but by the 1970s, the story was surrounded by numerous teaching suggestions and activities, extensive skill lessons with precise step-by step directions and activities, and specific learning plans. The relationship between instruction, learning, and testing appeared to be growing tighter, leaving little time for creative teaching or for encouraging extended reading. While the image of the teacher in the early guides is that of a professional, the contemporary image is that of an activity manager who is part of a complex technology of reading instruction. (Tables of data and 18 references are included). (NKA)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

ED281173

From Professional Teacher to Activities Manager: The Changing Role of the Teacher in Reading Teachers' Guides, 1920-1985

Arthur Woodward
University of Rochester

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Arthur Woodward

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington D.C., April 20-24, 1987.

Address for correspondence: Arthur Woodward
GSEHD, Lattimore 302
University of Rochester
Rochester NY 14627

CS008783

From Professional Teacher to Activities Manager: The Changing Role of the Teacher in Reading Teachers' Guides, 1920-1985.

Introduction

In the last few years it seemed hardly a month would pass without some state department of education, professional association, or private organization, issuing a report on improving elementary and secondary education in the United States. These reports tended to focus on declining achievement scores of students, the degradation of the curriculum to a hodge podge of "easy," "pop" courses, and the general perception that there was little consensus as to the values of hard work and scholarship that schools had traditionally fostered.

After the introduction of tougher graduation requirements, an emphasis on traditional discipline based subjects, and proposals for lengthening the school day and school year, attention has shifted. Now, concern focuses on the teacher. Reports by the Holmes Group (1986), Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy (1986), and the National Governors Association (1986) all paint a dismal future for education unless radical steps are taken to improve the quality of people who will want to become teachers, as well as the career paths and opportunities for professional development for those who already teach.

The discussion of the importance of teachers and teaching to school improvement is made urgent by the massive retirement and early retirement of experienced and highly educated teachers, swelling enrollments due to the so-called "baby boomlet", and a recognition that the least able students are being attracted to teaching. Indeed, as Carnegie (1986) notes, while some 1.3 new teaching positions will need to be filled between now and 1993, undergraduates who indicate teaching as their career choice are placed in the bottom quartile of their class as measured by standardized achievement tests.

The looming shortage of teachers has swung the focus of reform from the "students" - more specifically the curriculum and achievement as measured by tests, to the role and status of the teacher. It is argued that teachers themselves perceive a diminution of status and respect (Sykes & Devaney, 1985; Lortie, 1986; Lowther, Stark, & Chapman, 1984; and Solorzano, 1986) and that only through a radical restructuring and reprofessionalization of teaching will the "best and the brightest" once again be attracted to teaching, and once attracted, stay (Shanker, 1986).

The debate over the status of teaching usually contrasts the past with the present. It is argued that in the past teachers possessed the discretion, discision making ability, and broad respect from students and the community. And while memories of our own school experiences may be tinged with a nostalgia that allows us to forget the incompetent and less-than-stimulating teacher, the point is that to be a teacher then was to be perceived as someone whose role was valued. Clearly, today the opposite is the case. And while calls for restructuring schools, creating career ladders and the like, are being proposed as a way of reprofessionalizing teaching, there is a danger that, at the elementary grades at least, little will change. Indeed, it may well be that prevailing conceptions of the curriculum, student competency, and the role of the teacher creates a situation where "teaching" and being a professional are incompatible.

This study looks at the changing role and status of the elementary school teacher through the mirror of the textbook, specifically the textbook's teachers' guide. Contemporary teachers' guides are at once impressive and disturbing. On the one hand, they are comprehensive, helpful, attractively designed, and contain the "tricks of the trade" that a teacher would ordinarily take many years to acquire. On the other hand, the teachers' guides' very comprehensiveness is cause for concern. They appear to "do everything" for the teacher. Nothing is left to chance, whether it is the list of questions to ask students in the middle of a story, or the "correct" answers to accept.

Underpinning the typical basal reading series with its multi-textbook approach is a management system that tracks students as they progress through the program. For each unit, students take placement tests, and for each lesson, criterion reference tests. These tests track performance and cycle students into enrichment, reinforcement or reteaching activities. However, in order for such a system to work, reading has been reconstructed and in the process of that restructuring the role of the teacher has changed. As represented in textbooks, reading is a process involving the acquisition of hundreds of discrete skills and subskills. These skills are easily measured and provide a convenient way of showing whether or not students are, or are not, learning to read. In this situation it is the role of the teacher to make sure that students follow the prescribed activities; in other words their job is to "administer" the program.

The reduction of subjects to measurable skills has profound consequences for the school curriculum (Nagel, Elliott, and Woodward, 1986; Armbruster

and Gudbranden, 1986; and Nagel and Woodward, 1987 note this trend in social studies). It also has consequences for what students learn and how they learn it, and for the role of the teacher. Indeed, as Apple and Teitelbaum (1986) note, the introduction of competency based achievement tests in response to the accountability movement has resulted in matching curriculum and instruction to the implicit curriculum of the tests. These tests also seem to reflect a profound disquite about schools and a lack of confidence in the ability of teachers as professionals.

As Woodward (1986a), Woodward (1986b), Shannon (1987), and Duffy, Roehler, and Putnam (1987) note teachers' guides are sensitive indicators of changes in the perceptions of the role of the teacher and it seems clear that current teachers' guides reflect a widespread lack of confidence that teachers can do a good job without extensive support. In this particular paper I look at the changing role of the teacher through the mirror of the teachers' guides that accompany reading textbooks. Through teachers' guides published each decade since the 1920s I investigate how their organization and content reflect the expected role of the teacher. In addition, I also trace the way in which reading as a school subject has changed over the decades and the implication these changes have for the teacher's role.

As I describe below, 1970 represents a watershed in teachers' guides and the image of the teacher reflected in them. From this point the organization and content of the teachers' guides reflected a teacher who was perceived of as less skilled and dedicated than before. Thus, these contemporary teachers' guides reflect what Apple (1983) calls the deskilling of teachers and I call the change (in the perception at least) of teachers from professionals to activity managers - a role very much at variance from the one being proposed by current reports calling for the reprofessionalization of teaching.

Textbooks Analyzed

After an exhaustive search only two publishers (Publisher A and Publisher B) were identified who had published reading textbooks every decade between 1920 and the present (Table 1). Twelve fifth-grade teachers' guides were analyzed. The early teachers' guides were sometimes independent of the pupil textbook; where it was important to do so, I obtained and analyzed the pupil text. As a rule, every sixth chapter, story,

or lesson was analyzed, although I soon discovered that the method and technique suggested in a guide's earlier sections or lessons was repeated throughout the text.

Insert Table 1 about here

Each manual was analyzed for physical characteristics, number of authors, testing components, number of stories, number of poems, instructional suggestions, professional discussion on the teaching of reading, reports of current reading research, professional bibliography, student bibliography, scripting, story summaries, questions, lesson plans, answers, exercises, and scope and sequence.

Authors

In most cases reading basals underwent major design changes every two or three decades. In the early years series were usually authored by one or two people. In the 1930s the phenomenon of "contributing authors" appeared. In the 1950s as many as four authors worked on a series. By the 1970s and 1980s there was an explosion of authors and consultants. Publisher A's series boasted five program authors, two book authors, and an instructional consultant. The 1976 series of Publisher B was authored by three people with five consultants, one each for evaluation, readability, language, linguistics, and creativity. By 1985 this series boasted five authors, ten consultants, 24 advisors, 21 teacher reviewers, and a six member National Panel of Supervisors.

Physical Characteristics

During the early 1900s and 1920s teachers' guides were separate books that usually referred to textbook story selections but did not reproduce them (Venezky, 1987, reports finding a very extensive teachers' guide during this period, however I did not). These manuals were often slim affairs emphasizing philosophy and approach; they contained only the barest of instructional suggestions and sometimes covered several grades. By the 1940s all manuals were hardcover and all contained the reproduced student text either at the front of the book or at the back. By the 1960s the teachers' guides were full-color affairs, hardbound and heavy. By the 1970s the teachers' guides had been transformed into highly colorful

spiral-bound softcover books containing reduced pupil text pages surrounded by lesson plans, exercises, and teaching suggestions. This feature was continued in the 1980s teachers' guides.

Approach to Reading

The contrast between the approach to reading taken by the earlier reading teachers' guides and ones published after 1970 is striking. Whereas the earlier teachers' guides emphasized the importance of reading, the post-1970 teachers' guides were more equivocal. These latter teachers' guides contained a large number of skill lessons interspersed between stories and it seemed that stories in the skill lesson chapters were less for "reading" than for "content" on which to practice a particular skill such as alphabetization, using quotation marks, and so on.

The advocacy of outside reading and library reading was a notable feature of the earlier teachers' guides. Student bibliographies were entensive (Tables 2 and 3). By the 1970s reading basals became self-contained. Almost everything was included in the series. While the 1970s basals and teachers' guides were truly self-contained this was less the case in the 1980s. These series did contain student bibliographies and in-text teacher guide suggestions for outside "enrichment" reading.

Insert Table 2 and 3 about here

Another notable difference between the pre-1970 reading series teachers' guides and those published after 1970 was the inclusion of extensive essays on reading. In the earlier teachers' guides these introductions often included information about lastest research in reading and provided the teacher with an up-to-date background on the subject. In addition, the earlier teachers' guides contained extensive professional bibliographies (Tables 2 and 3). These disappeared by the 1970s and 1980s, although some anthologies were listed for the teacher to use in class.

From the 1920s until the 1960s the philosophy underpinning reading basals was that pupils should be encouraged to read and read more. By the 1930s and 1940s authors began to cite research findings to support the inclusion of "theme" or interest units that would stimulate pupil reading both in the reading lesson and at home. Also important was correlating reading with other subject areas. While the 1960s teachers' guides also began to give more emphasis to the acquisition of skills, it was not until the 1970s the basal reader was self-contained and predominantly skill-based.

According a 1923 teachers' guide (Publisher B), the accompanying textbook "was primarily a storybook or a collection of the best stories in prose or verse" (p. 1). These stories were arranged around themes such as heroism and adventure, animals, aeronautics, and the World War and they were meant to stimulate "the child's love of adventure" or "take note of the child"s awakening to the realities of life and lead him to large enterprises . . ." (p. 1). For the authors of Publisher A's 1923 series, encouraging the reading of good literature was paramount. The beneficial effects that reading literature would have on a child's character were emphasized over and over again. Like Publisher B, Publisher A grouped stories around themes--for example, adventure and country life. It was assumed that most children would read far more than the stories contained in the textbook.

The 1930s the teachers' guides also advocated the importance of extended reading. The 1937 manual of Publisher B noted,

> Children should read more widely in these grades, think more actively while reading, and refine habits already developed.... Children's experiences should be greatly enriched by the wide reading that should be accomplished in these grades, and wholesome interests, standards, and tastes for reading should be advanced. (p. 1)

The authors cautioned that,

> No attempt should be made to isolate any habit or skill nor to provide separate training for its development. As children engage in reading to satisfy various needs, attitudes, habits and skills appear to develop organically. (p. 21)

Selections were grouped around interest themes which were based them on an extensive research study (conducted at Teachers College, Columbia University) of 50,000 pupils and 1,500 teachers that was designed to find "scientifically a prose content for basal readers that would be both interesting from the point of view of children and worthwhile when measured by adult standards" (p.x).

Publisher A's 1944 reading manual emphasized the importance of developing a flexible reading program that would include basic readers, extensive free reading, and special group or individual reading. "Throughout the middle grades reading should become an increasingly valuable means of enriching children's experiences, satisfying their

interests and curiosities, and stabilizing their personalities: (p. 7). The authors noted that most basal series contained 35 to 40 stories, most of which could be read in a single class period. The rest of the time was to be spent in extension and library reading activities. The teachers' guide contained a student bibliography of 128 volumes.

The interest theme again appeared in the 1950s texts. For example, Publisher B's 1956 teachers' guide noted that, "research studies show that opportunities to read widely in varied types of materials strengthen and enlarge the child's recognition and meaning vocabularies. Accordingly, this Manual contains literally hundreds of suggestions for extending the reading activities of children . . ." (p. 10). Two hundred student library books were listed in the bibliography.

Publisher B's 1966 teachers' guide noted that reading was one of the "most urgent and crucial tasks of a lifetime . . . Failure in reading may handicap an individual's work in school as well as his total adjustment (p. 3). Referring to reading research, the authors noted that the program was developmental and contained "carefully structured sequences." Gone was earlier manuals' advocacy of teachers using their own judgment about the sequence of reading the stories and completing the activities.

The reading textbook did, however, still reflect a belief in fostering reading through student interests and motivations: "research studies show that opportunities to read widely in varied types of materials strengthen and enlarge the child's recognition of meaning vocabularies. Accordingly, this manual contains literally hundreds of suggestions for extending the reading activities of the children" (p. 17). One of the best tests of the success of the program, according to the teachers' guide, was the extent to which students went to the library table or bookshelf during their free time. However, while recognizing the need for supplementary reading and library work, the manual contained an extensive description of the 10 vertical strands of the program and how the text covered each one. It was also with this series that ever more complex skill indexes were printed.

Like the previous editions of Publisher A's readers, its 1965 teachers' guide continued to emphasize the importance of stories and themes that would motivate and excite pupils. It stressed encouraging extended and independent reading as previous teachers' guides had; teachers were asked to collect supplementary materials such as books, maps, and encyclopedias, many of which were noted in the bibliography. The 1965 teachers' guide also contained a notable innovation which may have

augured the development of the basal reader as a self-sufficient textbook--an almost book-length story about the early life of Helen Keller.

In the 1970s manuals (Publisher A, 1978; Publisher B, 1976), student bibliographies disappeared (in some cases there were occasional citations after story selections and Publisher B printed bibliographies on note cards to be updated annually). Professional bibliographies (a phenomenon of the 1940s through 1960s) also disappeared. Publisher B's teachers' guide had none and Publisher A's had dwindled to six citations. Gone also were references to students' interests and to extended and independent reading.

In the place of these bibliographies and professional essays were pages of scope and sequence charts, tests, record keeping sheets, descriptions of the program and various flow charts. For Publisher B in 1976, reading was decoding, comprehending, critically evaluating, and using ideas. Each text was based on seven vertical skill strands. According to the authors "[This series] offers a strikingly effective combination of student and teacher materials. . . . For the teacher, [it] provides tools that make it easy to teach and to keep track of important learnings. For the child, [it] provides materials that make learning a delightful and rewarding experience" (p. T8). The program was an ideal tool for the teacher: "its all-inclusive Teachers Edition gives the teacher everything necessary to plan and provide instruction for the pupils" (p. T9). The stories selected "will enable pupils to gain rewarding experiences in meeting other people and in exploring different worlds, and at the same time stimulate them to discover fresh new horizons of thought and to dream new dreams" (p. T32).

According to the manual, Publisher A's 1978 series had four major purposes: to foster identification of words, comprehension of literal and implied meanings of words, phrases and sentences; effective study practices, and the development of an interest in and a love for reading. For the average student the program provided thorough and continuous practice in essential reading skills "and frequent opportunities to apply these skills in realistic reading situations" (p. 7). For the below average reader the program provided "carefully paced" instruction, and "frequent reteaching." To above average readers who "require little or no guidance in reading and comprehension" it allowed more time for independent reading . . ." (p. 7). However, the manual recommended only the "Bonus" and "Gold Medal Selections" that were occasionally scattered through the text. It seems library reading simply was not an option. Also, the magazine format of this series' selections (see below) made it unlikely that any students would be motivated to read more.

In its "overview" section Publisher A (1985) noted five beliefs that underpinned the reading program; translating symbols, understanding the writer's message, that reading was an essential skill needed in learning, that without reading an individual's potential cound not be fulfilled, and reading as an enjoyable experience. The program was designed to cover most ability ranges: "The program has been designed for pupils who are considered by most standards to be average in their rates of learning and in their reading achievement. Definite provision has also been made in the progam to provide for the needs of above- and below-average pupils." (T1).

In its "Highlights" section preceding the "overview" the publishers noted that the program emphasized "good" literature, content variety, and extensive skill strands. In advocating its methodological approach, the teachers' guide noted that the teach/practice/apply/assess method provided a "consistent pattern (that) makes lesson planning efficient. Immediate application of skills teaching emphasizes the transfer of learning. Immediate assessment lets you know which pupils need further instruction." (T7). The management systems provided "time-efficient ... system for testing and record keeping management and for pacing the program. The teacher could be assured that pupils are prepared to take tests and that tests provide you with important information about...pupil programs." (T7).

The importance of skills instruction was the major feature of Publisher B's introduction . "The goal (of the program) is to teach children to comprehend written language. To reach this goal, skills are presented in four major strands: Decoding, Vocabulary, Comprehension, and Life and Study Skills. A fifth strand, Extension, helps meet individual needs." The program's instructional plan consisted of six elements; organize (overview of the unit and lesson), teaching ("effective lesson plans that include explicit teaching instruction for each skill"), practice, extend (use of career-lessons, studybook skills), test, review.

Story and Activity Organization

Prior to 1970 the connection between learning to read and reading was the central characteristic of textbooks and teachers' guides. Although text design became more and more complex, adding activities, exercises, and instructional features (the number of stories, however, remained basically the same- see Tables 6 and 7), it was not until 1970 that reading became a predominantly skill-based subject.

Before 1970 textbooks were organized around certain story themes considered stimulating and interesting to the contemporary pre-adolescent. Moreover, it was felt that stories on a similar theme would allow students to build ever more complex knowledge and understanding. Some teachers' guides noted that student interests could affect their reading achievement and hence the rationale for the thematic approach in these materials.

The importance of unifying unit themes decreased, the unit titles of basal units became quite abstract. In Publisher B's textbook (Table 4), unit titles changed from the specific in the 1920s-1950s ("Animals", "Neighbors to the South", "Outer Space") in the early periods, to the almost abstract in the 1970s ("Setting the Pace", "Everywhere Tales", "Under One Sun"), to the slightly more specific in the 1980s ("This Business of People", "Imagine a Creature"). However, in the case of the 1985 edition the connection between unit title and selections was not always clear. In the unit "Horse and Violins," for example, "people come to grips with their goals, their work and themselves. Characters discover the ability within themselves to solve problems and follow dreams such as winning a race, making a violin, or becoming a famous ballerina." Publisher A abandoned unit themes in its 1970s and 1980s materials (Table 5); each "section" consisted of disparate fiction and nonfiction selections. It was a far cry from the theme approach of earlier decades.

Insert Tables 4 and 5 about here

Although each section usually included a summary of its story selections, the nature of these summaries changed. Prior to the 1970s, basals contained brief summaries of stories together with a commentary and overview that related motivational threads or unit themes to each story selection. By the 1970s and 1980s summaries of stories were quite extensive and it was possible to teach a story without having read it beforehand. During this period stories became surrounded by a vast array of additional activities. For example, one story would typically be surrounded by three or four pages of activites and suggestions. In addition, extensive skill lessons independent of each story were a major feature of 1970s and 1980s reading textbooks.

Insert Tables 6 and 7 about here

Typical Lesson

Between the 1920s and 1980s the "typical lesson" dramatically changed. Implied in the earlier "lessons" was an assumption of teacher discretion and independence. Typically, there were a few general suggestions and perhaps a few exercises. By the 1970s lessons had changed. The "story" was still there, but by now surrounded by numerous teaching suggestions and activities (usually four pages of them). However, interleaved between these story lessons were extensive skill lessons (e.g. using a dictionary, recognizing sequence relationships) with fairly precise step-by-step directions and activities. Thus, the image of what a teacher does, as reflected in these lesson plans, changed from one of independence, exercise of expertise and discretion to a teacher who mechanically followed precise directions and executed a specific learning plan.

A few examples may illustrate the changes in the typical lesson. Publisher B's 1923 guide contained one model lesson plan. The teachers' guide stated its general aim--"To have pupils form the habit of reading and to interest them in reading the stories of authors" (p. 17)--and a specific aim--"To interest the pupils in stories of adventures; to have them read 'Kit Carson and the Bears' with fluency and enjoyment . . ." (p. 17). Using a number of "thought questions," suggestions were made for motivating the story and guiding pupils' silent reading and correct interpretation. Following the story were exercises dealing with specific aspects of language or grammar. Special emphasis was placed on relating reading activities to other subjects. By the 1930s, teachers' guides were giving more attention to helping the teacher motivate or excite children about the story to be read.

The teachers' guide accompanying the Publisher B 1937 series contained a limited number of model lessons and cautioned that, "before the reading period the teacher herself should prepare the reading lesson. She must know what her goal is, and she must have a plan for handling the story. Hit-or-miss handling of a lesson rarely brings satisfactory results" (p. 35). Each selection was preceded by a paragraph containing a few suggested questions to interest pupils. Silent reading was to be encouraged and after a story was read a discussion was to be held about some aspect of it, questions would follow, (as in other manuals, no answers to the questions were printed). Then would come a section on word study and follow-up work, such as the dramatization of a particular part of the story and activities that related to other subject areas. Apart from the model lesson plans, which delved quite deeply into the method of teaching a story, the remaining selections simply contained lesson

objectives, such as "to satisfy curiosity." The 1950s the lesson suggestions in the teachers' guides tended to follow the same pattern as previous guides. In 1956, each of Publisher A's lesson plans was preceded by a list of new words and a story summary that contained editorial comment such as "youngsters will agree that the surprise at the end is perfect and well worth waiting for. They will agree too, when they come to compare the story setting and the characters' way of life with settings and ways of life in the United States, that there are more likenesses than differences" (p. 38). In this case, given the general "theme" it seemed that the teacher's job was to infer the questions to ask pupils. As in other instances, much emphasis was given to establishing the story motivation. However, in a departure from previous editions of teachers' guides, teachers were to interrupt the reading of a story three times to ask very specific questions, and following the reading of the story they were to ask additional questions (all listed) to extend pupils' understanding of it. Scripting of the teacher's comments was a common feature. Additional skill activities, such as working with punctuation marks, were always embedded in events and characters from the story.

Publisher B's 1956 manual continued to advocate that students read the whole story. Each selection was accompanied by a very short story summary and suggestion (in the form of a script) for teachers to motivate interest in reading the story. Following the reading and interpretation of the story, vocabulary building exercises and comprehension and study skill exercises appeared, all using examples from the story. Suggestions were then given for lanaguage and speech activities and enrichment activities involving social studies and other subjects. The manual drew a nice distinction between the functions of factual and "thought" questions.

The 1960s teachers' guide reflected the move to greater support of the teacher. Although features such as professional bibliographies were still common, as were reports of reading research (in one case relegated to the back of the book), there was a distinct trend to increased "scripting" of what the teacher was supposed to do and say. Publisher B's 1966 manual went so far as to tell the teacher, "say . . ." For a story about salmon the teacher was provided with background information about salmon, but otherwise the manual adopted a scripted and prescriptive approach. For example, "Note: As the teacher writes the new words on the chalkboard, she should stand so that the children can see the words develop from left to right, pronouncing the words carefully as she is writing them. Italics are used to indicate the words which are to be written on the chalkboard" (p. 77). Once pupils had read several pages of a story, the teachers' guide told the teacher the questions to ask and answers to expect.

Comprehension and study skill exercises following the story all contained material relating to it. However, phonics exercises contained only a few related questions. The manual suggested enrichment activities such as field trips and the use of audiovisual materials. Publisher A's 1965 manual also used scripting and very careful step-by-step instructions for each lesson.

The 1970s teachers' guides were more scripted and more comprehensive than any guides that preceded them and represented a watershed in assumptions about the role of the teacher and the reading curriculum. In Publisher B's 1976 guide, each unit was introduced by an overview which unsuccessfully attempted to relate the "abstract" unit theme to the story selections. The summaries describing the stories sounded like synopses of soap operas. Questions followed each story and the answers were provided for the teacher. Only about half of the comprehension exercise questions related to the story.

In its 1978 edition, Publisher A most clearly abandoned the features of earlier manuals. A rigid time schedule was laid out in which 36 skill sequences were to take four days each, 17 bonus slelections a total of 23 days and 4 section checkpoints 8 days (as with the contemporaneous Publisher B manual, testing was a notable feature of the series). Each four day sequence was to consist of teaching and practice with a skill, applying skills with a reading selection, reteaching and then enriching skills. In most cases all questions were accompanied by answers, even if the answers were obvious.

A distinction was made between good and poor readers; poor readers were to be interrupted halfway through their story and asked factual questions about it; they would then be asked a second set of questions at the end of the story. Brighter pupils could read the story all the way through and the questions they were to be asked at the end were comprehension-based.

Story summaries were often unclear and unsatisfactory. Exercises were often not related to the story selection. It was clear that the writers of this series saw it as self-contained material; in one exercise on using encyclopedias pupils were to use the textbook illustrations rather than real encyclopedias that could have been obtained from the library.

While there were a number of differences between the 1970s and 1980s teachers' guides, the basic approach employed by these texts was very similar. If we take the 1985 teachers' guide of Publisher A, we see a continuation of a fairly rigid organization with 36 skill units each, of

which would take 4 or 5 days (Publisher B's approach seemed a little less rigid with no "time line" featured). The approach adopted by the publishers was a intersperse "Literary Units" between skill units. The lesson plan contained objectives, story summary, new vocabulary, and instructions for guiding reading. Half-way through reading the story, students would be asked questions (Question: "What kind of passage did Thomas discover in his house?" Explain." Answer. "Answers may vary, but pupils should reason that because Thomas felt that the house was haunted, that he went exploring, he most likely expected to find a secret passage").

The skill unit was divided into two sections, one was a major skill lesson, the other introduced and tested skills. Skill lesson "A" was based on a story and students were to learn the skill of "figuring out words". After reading a portion of the story, the teacher was to ask seven questions, then at the end of it another six questions (this was called guided skill development). Students then completed practice exercises, and then applied the skill to another story. The story was summarized for the teacher and suggested context practice sentences were listed. Guided reading followed, and questions were listed for the teacher to ask students. A "Comprehensive Check" ended the lesson. The second skill lesson introduced the skill of "quotation marks" in which students completed a number of exercises.

Conclusion

To look at contemporary teachers' guides and compare them with those published many years before is dismaying. While claims may be made that teachers do not have to follow the precise sequencing and suggestions of the lesson plans, the structure of the text and the concept of what reading means is such that it is very hard for a teacher to depart from the lockstep approach implicit in these programs. It appears that the relationship between instruction, learning, and testing is becoming tighter and tighter and in the process there seems very little time to engage in creative teaching or to encourage extended reading.

The image of the teacher in the earlier teachers' guides is one of a professional teacher. It was assumed that teachers would be able to plan their lessons, that only a limited number of suggestions were necessary, and that the primary purpose of reading instruction was to encourage extended reading. The contemporary image of the teacher is very different. It is an image of a teacher who is spoonfed and is part of a complex "technology" of reading instruction that makes the teacher an

implementer not a "creator." Rather than a professional, the teacher is an activity manager. In fact, these reading materials do not really need a teacher, they need someone who can read and follow instructions.

While Holmes (1985), Carnegie (1985), and many others advocate reprofessionializing teaching, doubts must be raised about how effective reform can be given the image of the teacher implicit in instructional materials. Unfortunately, reprofessionalizing elementary school teachers cannot be achieved by simply telling them they do not need to follow their textbook and teachers' guide as closely as they have done before. What reformers need to address is the issue of curriculum- what it is, and how it is implemented. In many cases the textbook has been the curriculum. Yet, if instruction was based on implementing a local curriculum teachers would find no one textbook or textbook program to match that curriculum. Consequently, teachers would need to use different materials for different topics and situations and the image of the teacher would be very different from what is now reflected in textbook teachers' guides.

References

Apple, M.W. (1983). Work, gender, and teaching. Teachers College Record, 84 (3), 611-628.

Apple, M.W. & Teitelbaum, K. (1986). Are teachers losing control of their skills and curriculum? Journal of Curriculum Studies, 18 (2), 177-184.

Armbruster, B.B., & Gudbranden, B. (1986). Reading comprehension instruction in social studies programs. Reading Research Quarterly. 21 (1), 36-48.

Carnegie Forum. A nation prepared: Teachers for the 21st century. (1986). The Report of the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy.

Duffy, G.G., Roehler, L.R., & Putnam, J. (1987). Putting the teacher in control: Basal reading textbooks and instructional decision making. The Elementary School Journal, 87 (3), 357-366.

Holmes Group. Tomorrow's Teachers. (1986). East Lansing, MI.: The Holmes Group.

Lortie, D.C. (1986). Teacher status in Dade County: A case of structural strain? Phi Delta Kappan, 568-575.

Lowther, M.A., Stark, J.S., & Chapman, D.W. (1984). perceptions of work-related conditions among teachers and persons in other occupations. Journal of Educational Research, 77 (5), 277-282.

Nagel, K.C., Elliott, D.L., & Woodward, A. Losing our way in teaching social studies skills. Ppaper presented at the American Educational Research Association, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA., April 1986.

Nagel, K.C. & Woodward, A. (1987). Overskilling Social Studies, Under Review.

National Governors' Association. Time for results. The Governors' 1991 report on education. (1986). Washington D.C.: Center for Policy Analysis and Research, National Governors Association.

Shanker, A. (1986). Our profession, our schools: The case for fundamental reform. American Educator, 10-17, 44-45.

Shannon, P. (1987). Commercial reading materials, a technological ideology, and the deskilling of teachers. The Elementary School Journal, 87 (3), 308-329.

Solorzano (1986, May 26). Teaching in trouble. U.S. News and World Report, 52-57.

Sykes, G. & Devaney, K. (1985). A blight on the apple for the teacher. Education and Urban Society, 17 (3), 243-249.

Venezky, R.L. (1987). A history of the American reading textbook. The Elementary School Journal, 87 (3), 247-265.

Woodward, A. (1986a). Taking teaching out of teaching and reading out of learning to read. Book Research Quarterly, 2 (1), 53-73.

Woodward, A. (1986b). Overprogrammed materials: Taking the teacher out of teaching. American Educator, 26-31.

TABLE 1

Reading Basal Teaching Manuals Used for Analysis

Publisher A	Publisher B
1923	1923
1933	1929
1944	1937
1956	1956
1965	1966
1978	1976
1985	1985

TABLE 2

Supplementary Materials Listed in Publisher A Manuals

Year	Refs for Teachers	Student Library Books	A-V Refs
1923	0	0	0
1933	0	98	0
1944	30	128	0
1956	26	88	31
1965	14	121	0
1978	6	0	0
1985	0	67	1

TABLE 3

Supplementary Materials Listed in Publisher B Manuals

Year	Refs for Teachers	Student Library Books	A-V Refs
1923	0	0	0
1929			
1937	0	50	0
1956	107	218	43
1966	108	200	122
1976	0	0*	0
1985	37	31	0

*Occassionally titles are mentioned in "background" sections to stories and updated bibliographies on note cards were available from the publisher.

Table 4

Unit/Theme Titles for Publisher A

1923	The World of Nature
	Stories in a Lighter Vein
	Home and Country
	Great American Authors
1933	Skyways and Highways
	The Outdoor World
	Stories We Should All Know
	Young American Citizens
	Boys and Girls of Other Lands
	Workers and Their Work
	Famous Heroes of Long Ago
	Holidays and Festivals
1944	Young Citizens of Today
	Moving Westward
	Wonders of Today
	Story-Land of Here and Now
	Young Citizens of Other Lands
	The Great Outdoors
	Famous Americans
1956	Young Citizens of Other Lands
	The Great Outdoors
	Famous People of Other Days
	Old Tales
1965	Thresholds
	Frontiers
	Conquests
	Profiles
	Kaleidoscope
1978	No unit titles; sections only
1985	No unit titles; sections only

Table 5

Unit/Titles for Publisher B

1923	Heroism and Adventure	1966	It Could Happen to You
	School Days		To Make You Laugh
	Boys and Girls		Bright Heritage
	Wonder and Imagination		Round About North America
	Animals		When Roads Led West
	Seasons		Great Old Tales
	Other Countries		Outer Space - Fun and Fact
	Aeroneutics		In the Face of Danger
	Patriotism		
	The World War	1976	Setting ther Pace
	Love of Country		Where Do Stories Come From?
			Everywhere Tales
1956	Round About America		When the World Was Young
	When Roads Led West		Under One Sun
	To Make You Laugh		
	Gay Days	1985	This Business of People
	Great Days		This Leads to That
	Neighbors to the South		Imagine a Creature
	In the Face of Danger		Horses and Violins
			Reflections
			Secrets and Symbols

Table 6

Number of Stories and Poems in Publisher A Series

Year	Stories	Poems
1923	27	30
1933	34	19
1944	40	0
1956	32	0
1965	28	21
1978	36	6
1985	49	11

Table 7

Number of Stories and Poems in Publisher B Series

Year	Stories	Poems
1923	61	17
1929	-	-
1937	36	13
1956	43	11
1966	41	20
1976	37	4
1985	43	8